

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9560

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USMISSION USUN

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS, XF

SUBJECT: LABOR PARTY POLICY ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

REF: TEL AVIV 6518

SUMMARY. ADOPTION GALILI DOCUMENT (TEL AVIV 6475) BY LABOR
PARTY LEADERSHIP HAS MET MOST OF DAYAN'S DEMANDS AND, IF
IMPLEMENTED (AND THIS IS THE QUESTION), WILL MEAN SIGNIFICANTLY
INTENSIFIED ACTIVITY IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IN NEXT FOUR YEARS.
AGREEMENT OF SAPIR AND OTHER DOVES REFLECTS RIGHTWARD SHIFT WITHIN
LABOR PARTY LEADERSHIP TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF A PROCESS OF CREEP-
ING ANNEXATION IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. DAYAN'S SUCCESS LIES IN
NEW IMPETUS TO BE GIVEN TO POLICIES ON MANY OF WHICH LABOR PARTY
LEADERSHIP HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE OR ON WHICH
INITIAL ACTIONS ALREADY TAKEN. CONTROVERSY CENTERED ON YAMIT,
ADJACENT DEEPWATER PORT IN NORTHER SINAI, AND LAND SALES TO
PUBLIC COMPANIES AND INDIVIDUALS. ON THESE DAYAN GOT FAR LESS
THAN HE WANTED BUT NONETHELESS HAS FOUND IT EXPEDIENT TO
EXPRESS SATISFACTION WITH CONCLUSIONS REACHED. DAYAN'S STRENGTH
REMAINS OUTSIDE LABOR PARTY, DERIVING FROM HAWKISH PUBLIC
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MOOD AND CHALLENGE POSED BY NEW PRO-ANNEXATIONIST RIGHTWING

ALIGNMENT. WITHIN LABOR LEADERSHIP CIRCLES, SAPIR WILL CONTINUE TO WIELD SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE BASED ON CONTROL OF MAPAI POWER BASES. HENCE POWER RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN LABOR PARTY LEADERSHIP HAVE NOT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY, AND DAYAN HAS WON NO SMASHING VICTORY THIS RESPECT. END SUMMARY.

1. ADOPTION GALILI DOCUMENT HAS MET MOST OF DAYAN'S DEMANDS AND, IF IMPLEMENTED, WILL MEAN SIGNIFICANTLY INTENSIFIED GOI ACTIVITY IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IN NEXT FOUR YEARS. FACT THAT MOST OF DAYAN'S DEMANDS WERE ACCEPTED WITHOUT SERIOUS ARGUMENT REFLECTS FACT THAT THESE PARTICULAR DEMANDS WERE NOT CONTROVERSIAL TO BEGIN WITH. MANY OF THEM WERE ALREADY PART OF LABOR PARTY POLICY IN PRINCIPLE OR ALREADY HAD BEGUN TO BE IMPLEMENTED. DAYAN'S ACHIEVEMENT IN LATEST ROUND IS TO GIVE THESE POLICIES NEW PUSH. ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES OF YAMIT AND A DEEPWATER PORT IN NORTHERN SINAI, DAYAN GOT CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN HE HAD BEEN CALLING FOR BUT STILL CLAIMS SATISFACTION. ON LAND SALES DAYAN BACKED AWAY FROM EXTREME DEMAND FOR UNLIMITED RIGHT OF PRIVATE ISRAELIS TO PURCHASE LAND TO FORMULA ESTABLISHING MINISTERIAL SUPERVISION FOR LAND SALES PROCESS. SIGNIFICANCE OF AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT HINGES ON IMPLEMENTATION BY NEXT GOVERNMENT.

2. MINISTERIAL AGREEMENT ON GALILI DOCUMENT, WHILE AFFECTING FUTURE COURSE OF GOI POLICY IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, DOES NOT SIGNIFY SHIFT IN POWER RELATIONS WITHIN LABOR PARTY. DAYAN'S STRENGTH REMAINS OUTSIDE PARTY, BUTTRESSED BY HAWKISH PUBLIC AND CHALLENGE OF NEW PRO-ANNEXATIONIST RIGHTWING ALIGNMENT. WITHIN NARROW PARTY LEADERSHIP SAPIR WILL CONTINUE TO WIELD SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE. YET AGREEMENT OF SAPIR AND OTHER DOVES TO GALILI DOCUMENT REFLECTS RIGHTWARD SHIFT WITHIN ENTIRE LABOR PARTY LEADERSHIP ON POLICY TOWARDS OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

3. IN ORDER TO PLACE THESE CONCLUSIONS IN APPROPRIATE CONTEXT, EMBASSY BELIEVES IT USEFUL TO DIVIDE DAYAN'S DEMANDS, AS PRESENTED IN DAYAN DOCUMENT (TEL AVIV 6633), INTO THREE CATEGORIES: A) THOSE DEMANDS WHICH OTHER MEMBERS LABOR PARTY HAVE RECOMMENDED IN PAST AND ON WHICH THEREFORE THERE WAS NO ARGUMENT WITH DAYAN; (B) THOSE RECOMMENDATIONS ON WHICH GOI HAS ALREADY BEGUN TAKING DECISIONS BUT ON WHICH DAYAN WANTS TO SPUR THE PACE; CONFIDENTIAL

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AND (C) THOSE RECOMMENDATIONS TO WHICH PARTY DOVES WERE OPPOSED. MOST DAYAN RECOMMENDATIONS FALL INTO EITHER CATEGORY (A) OR (B) AND CANNOT BE REGARDED AS POLICY CONCEPTS BEARING DAYAN'S UNIQUE IMPRINT. IN CATEGORY (C) WE WOULD PLACE ONLY THE ISSUES OF YAMIT, THE ADJACENT DEEPWATER PORT, AND LAND SALES TO PRIVATE ISRAELIS.

4. CATEGORY A. IT IS STRIKING THAT IN 1967 WHEN PROMINENT DOVE

LYOVA ELIAV PROPOSED A PROGRAM OF REFUGEE REHABILITATION, DAYAN OPPOSED IT. SUBSEQUENTLY MAPAMNIK DOV ZAKIN AND ALLON ALSO PRESENTED REFUGEE REHABILITATION PROPOSALS. LABOR MINISTERS IN PAST SUPPORTED FURTHER SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS AND WAGES OF ARABS EMPLOYED IN ISRAEL. MINISTERS ALSO AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL CENTERS AT KFAR SABA AND TULKARM. SAPIR AND OTHERDOVES HAVE VIEWED REFUGEE REHABILITATION AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AS PROGRAMS WHICH COULD MITIGATE THE GROWING PROBLEM OF ARAB LABOR IN ISRAEL AND ITS THREAT IN TERMS OF ZIONIST IDEOLOGY.

5. CATEGORY B. GOI DECIDED IN SEPTEMBER 1970 AND MARCH 1971 TO BUILD URBAN CENTER AT NEBI SAMWIL. MRS MEIR, ANSWERING PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION ON KNESSET FLOOR IN JUNE 1973, REITERATED GOI INTENTION TO PROCEED WITH THIS PROJECT. RE EXPANSION IN NUMBER OF JEWISH SETTLEMENTS, JEWISH AGENCY ANNOUNCED AUGUST 2 PLANS FOR 36 NEW SETTLEMENTS OVER NEXT FOUR YEARS INCLUDING SIX IN GOLAN HEIGHTS, SEVEN IN JORDAN VALLEY, ONE AT GUSH ETZION AND NINE IN RAFAH JUNCTION AREA. URBAN INDUSTRIAL CENTER IN GOLAN HEIGHTS WAS AUTHORIZED BY MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON SETTLEMENTS SEVERAL YEARS AGO BUT SO FAR NOT CONSTRUCTED.

6. CATEGORY C. CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES OF YAMIT, DEEPWATER PORT IN NORTHERN SINAI, AND LAND SALES TO PRIVATE CITIZENS WERE AT CENTER OF RECENT DEBATE. IN TRADITIONAL LABOR PARTY FASHION, COMPROMISE HAS BEEN STRUCK. IN EMBASSY VIEW, DAYAN HAS WON VERY LITTLE ON YAMIT AND VIRTUALLY NOTHING ON DEEPWATER PORT, WHILE RESOLUTION OF CRITICAL LAND SALES ISSUE IS SUBJECT TO CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS ON WHICH ONLY IMPLEMENTATION CAN PROVIDE CLARIFICATION. AS FOR YAMIT, GOI DECIDED IN DECEMBER 1972 TO ESTABLISH REGIONAL CENTER AT RAFAH JUNCTION, EXPLICITLY CALLING FOR CONSTRUCTION 350 RESIDENTIAL UNITS BY 1975. DAYAN CONFIDENTIAL

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DOCUMENT ASKED FOR "PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF YAMIT AT AN

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ACTION NEA-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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ACCELERATED RATE," BUT ACTUAL DECISION--TO BUILD 800 UNITS BY 1977--ACCORDS WITH PACE OUTLINED IN 1972 DECISION. DAYAN FURTHER ASKED FOR CONSTRUCTION OF DEEPWATER PORT WHICH WOULD BE ADJACENT TO YAMIT, BUT THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REMANDED TO STUDY WITHIN THREE YEAR TIME FRAME.

7. ON LAND SALES, DAYAN EARLIER THIS YEAR HAD DEMANDED PERMISSION FOR ANY JEW TO BUY LAND IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WITHOUT CONDITIONS. BUT IN DAYAN DOCUMENT HE UNDERLINED THAT LAND ACQUISITION BY PRIVATE COMPANIES AND INDIVIDUALS BE "FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSES AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS." IN GALILI DOCUMENT SIMILAR EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON SUCH ACQUISITION FOR "CONSTRUCTIVE ENTERPRISES, NOT FOR SPECULATION, AND WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF GOVERNMENT'S POLICY."

8. PRESS IN RECENT DAYS HAS HIGHLIGHTED CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS OF COMPROMISE STRUCK BETWEEN DAYAN AND DOVES. IN TWO HAARETZ PIECES KISLEV HAS ARGUED THAT ALL MINISTERS WERE AGREED TO 80 PERCENT OF DAYAN'S DEMANDS ANYWAY, AND THAT ON YAMIT AND LAND SALES DAYAN DID NOT WIN. IN CONTRAST, CONFIDENTIAL

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PRO-DAYAN COMMENTATOR MARGALIT (HAARETZ) HAS STATED THAT DAYAN SUCCEEDED IN FORCING SAPIR AND ASSOCIATES TO IMPLEMENT UNFULFILLED COMMITMENTS, EMPHASIZING THAT SAPIR HAD MOVED AWAY FROM EARLIER OPPOSITION TO CHANGES IN 1969 PLATFORM AND INCREASED INVESTMENT IN TERRITORIES. PROVACATIVELY, HE WROTE "ONE DOES NOT NEED A PARTICULARLY RICH IMAGINATION IN ORDER TO SEE MINISTER SAPIR APPEAR IN TWO YEARS' TIME IN THE KNESSET AND REPLY (TO A QUESTION) THAT

COME CONTRACTORS HAVE INDEED BOUGHT LAND CHEAPLY IN THE TERRITORIES, BUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH PERMITS ISSUED BY THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE THAT HAS SPECIALLY BEEN SET UP, IN COORDINATION WITH MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN." DAVAR'S PRO-DAYAN REPORTER ESHED HAS ALSO TAKEN LINE THAT "WORKABLE COMPRO-MISE" HAD BEEN STRUCK FAVORING DAYAN. HE ARGUED THAT INITIAL CONSTRUCTION IN RAFAH JUNCTION CONSTITUTED GROUNDWORK FOR CITY, THAT STUDY MUST PRECEDE PORT PROJECT IN ANY CASE, AND THAT CONTROLLED LAND SALES TO PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS AND COMPANIES WOULD NOW GO FORWARD. BASIC POLITICAL POINT, HE ARGUED, WAS CLEAR DECISION TO CANCEL FOREVER 1967 BORDERS.

9. IN CONCLUSION EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT GALILI DOCUMENT IF IMPLEMENTED WILL REPRESENT NEW IMPETUS TO PACE OF GOI ACTIVITYIN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND AMOUNT OF COMMITTED RESOURCES. IN THIS SENSE, DAYAN WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE MADE REAL GAIN OVER DOVES. IMPORTANT TO NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT BY FAR THE COSTLIEST ELEMENT IN NEW PROGRAM--REFUGEE REHABILITATION AND THOSE AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS DESIGNED SOLELY FOR WELFARE OF LOCAL POPULATION (CLINICS, SCHOOLS, ETC.)--SERVES A MAJOR AIM OF DOVES AND DOES NOT NECESSARILY MOVE PHYSICAL SITUATION IN TERRITORIES IN DIRECTION OF ANNEXATION. FURTHERMORE, RELATIVELY FEW RECOMMENDATIONS IN PROGRAM CAN BE CREDITED ONLY TO DAYAN, AND ON CRITICAL ONES OF YAMIT, DEEPWATER PORT IN SINAI, AND LAND SALES, DAYAN HAS HAD TO ACCOMMODATE DOVES' DEMANDS. DESPITE THIS QUALIFICATION LABOR PARTY, IN EMBASSY VIEW, HAS TAKEN ONE MORE DISTINCT STEP RIGHTWARD TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF PROCESS OF CREEPING ANNEXATION IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

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